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HEBREW TRADE AND TRADE TERMS IN O. T. TIMES

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THE present article is the by-product of an effort in the direction of studying the loan words of the Hebrew vocabulary. I looked naturally for a fair proportion of these among terms dealing with trade and commerce. Moreover, since the impression has been generally conveyed that the Hebrews only passed from the agricultural to the commercial stage after the exile, it seemed likely that most of the articles imported from foreign lands must necessarily bear foreign names. I found, on the contrary, a very considerable number of trade terms which are so natively Semitic as even to have passed from the Hebrew into Greek, Latin and other European languages. Even some of the terms which may originally have been Egyptian or Indian have apparently passed to the west through a Semitic channel and in a Semitic form.

This result has tempted me to a brief review of the whole question as to the attitude of the Jew towards trade, before the exile as well as after.

First of all let me recur to the impression ordinarily given as to the late entrance of the Hebrew into the lists of commerce. I find, for example, the Jewish Encyclopaedia quoting Josephus (*Cont. Apion I*) as follows: "We do not dwell in a land by the sea and do not therefore indulge in commerce either by sea or otherwise", a passage which seems strangely oblivious of the Jew of the Dispersion, not to speak of the significance of facts directly in the path of the historian such as the acquisition of Joppa by

Simon Maccabaeus and the building of Caesarea by Herod the Great. The Encyclopaedia adds (speaking of course of post-Biblical times): "Hitherto there had been no signs of any special predilection or capacity for commerce shown by Jews", and accounts for the sudden enthusiasm displayed for the same by the rise of Islâm which forced Christians to depend upon the Jews for the luxuries to which they had become accustomed.

Again, in Kent and Bailey's recent 'History of the Hebrew Commonwealth', I read: "The exile therefore was for the Jews a period of radical transformation. It wrought a fundamental change in their point of view . . . a change in their dominant activities from agricultural to commercial". Once again, in the recently republished articles from the '*Dearborn Independent*' on the 'International Jew', we find: "A race whose entire period of national history saw them peasants on the land, whose ancient genius was spiritual rather than material, bucolic rather than commercial".

Some admissions will presently be made and for the requisite qualification of statement certain reasons given, but, before venturing upon a detailed criticism of the view just illustrated, I would like to put forward a generalization which I consider of very great importance. This is that from the earliest times the Hebrew carried within himself two opposite tendencies warring continually for supremacy. Samuel Taylor Coleridge declared that the possibilities of Judaism were equally expressed in the old clo' man and in the Evangelical prophet. We see these warring ideals at every point in the narrative. Even Abraham, 'father of the faithful', was one of the most materially prosperous of sheikhs and had in him the driving of a good bargain. The best illustration is of course Jacob who in his early exploits furnishes us with a fine exhibition of shiftiness, trickiness, and meanness, even though at the same time he is so sensitive of spiritual values. After his exile, during the '*Lehrjahre*' with Laban, we have a striking case of 'diamond cut diamond' and the incident which has given us that amusingly misused word 'Mizpah' is a good example of the temper which prevailed to the very eve of his attaining to the new name of Israel.

If then the story of Jacob so plainly reveals a man of immense

commercial proclivity fighting desperately to retain his instinctive appreciation of the spiritual, may we not say that the whole of the O. T. is but a resumé of the like struggle continued in the race? A Hebrew poet, Mr. Zangwill, puts the matter clearly in the poem from which I quote the following lines:

"I saw a people rise before the sun,
A noble people scattered through the lands,
To be a blessing to the nations . . .
And wheresoe'er a Jew dwelt, there dwelt Truth,
And wheresoe'er a Jew was, there was Light,
And wheresoe'er a Jew went, there went Love.

Hear, O Israel, Jehovah, the Lord our God, is One,
But we, Jehovah His people are dual and so undone.
Slaves in eternal Egypts, baking their strawless bricks,
At ease in successive Zions, prating their politics . . ."

May we not recognize that if, in the O. T., the emphasis has been laid upon the victories of idealism, it is not thereby denied that for the mass the temptation to a materialistic choice was throughout alive and writhing, not to say at times overmastering? Sharpened by genuine reaction away from the ideals of Egypt, quickened in spiritual insight by the air and associations of the Sinaitic desert, the descendants of Israel re-entered Canaan in the set determination to exhibit the loftiest Puritanic disdain for the corrupt civilization of the people they displaced. In this resolve they were, of course, supported by the prophets of Jahvism who appeared ever and anon to revive and sustain the spiritual sense of the nation. Yet, nevertheless, the old Adam in the race made alliance with the older inhabitants of the land to frustrate the teachings of the prophets and the detachment from business which is reflected in the language of the prophets is after all the achievement of the few rather than the natural character of the many.

Thus it happens that when we penetrate beyond the spirituality of the elect minority, — the Remnant, as it is so frequently called — and get at the life of rulers and people as it was lived

in the light of common day, we discover that the same mercantile instincts which mark the Jew to-day were present all along and playing an important role in the national life. Perhaps it may even be said that the agricultural proclivities, which I believe to have been unduly stressed (cf. Gen. iii 17, 18) were never so strong as to supersede the earlier penchant for business. As a nomad the Hebrew could bargain with the best, and a trader he continued to be, at least, potentially, through all the vicissitudes of his career. He could well afford to consign agriculture to the accursed family of Canaan (cf. Gen. iv 2).

Let us now go more into historic detail, recognizing at the outset the almost inevitableness of a land such as Palestine being the habitat of peoples concerned with international trade.

Almost every writer on the Holy Land has drawn attention to its character as a natural bridge connecting Egypt with the Empires of the Euphrates Valley. Two great highways of traffic passed through the land, the one along the coast through Tyre and Gaza to Egypt, the other, east of Jordan, through Petra from S. Arabia to Damascus. Along these roads trade flowed uninterruptedly from the earliest times to the days of Islâm and the inhabitants of Palestine were kept in touch with the products and markets of India and of Rome, of Libya and Arabia, of Egypt and Babylon, even of China and the Malay peninsula. Herzfeld estimates that 133 different materials were brought to Palestine from these outside lands in addition to the 87 commodities produced at home.

So all along Palestinian history is one of trade association. In the earliest period of all it is stimulating to the imagination to think of the Egyptian Snefru, B. C. 3,000, finding things to interest him in the southern desert, of the exile Sinuhit becoming rich and wearing fine linen among the sand dwellers of southern Palestine, of Thothmes III obtaining from the siege of Megiddo thousands of horses, chariots, vessels of gold and silver, 'flat dishes of costly stone and gold', 'a large two-handed vase of the work of Kharu', gold in rings, silver statues, slaves adorned with gold and precious stones, lapis lazuli, and the like. Again, in the Amarna letters we are able to contemplate the enormous

variety of things imported for the commissariat of the Egyptian garrisons, the gold and silver exacted from the inhabitants of the land as tribute, not to speak of the chariots, vessels, ornaments, and precious stones which passed through from Naharina or Babylonia to Egypt.

It was more or less inevitable that such a land as this must breed merchants and there is no concealment of the fact that all the Semitic tribes of Canaan were keen for profiting by the situation. The same thing is true of the non-Semitic peoples in Palestine such as the Hittites and Philistines. The trading capacity of the former is reflected in the story of Abraham's purchase of Machpelah (Gen. xxiii), and the latter, 'rovers' from Kefto (probably on the south coast of Asia Minor) brought with them some of the culture of the Aegean or Minoan world. Such names as Ashkelon in all probability witness to the commercial character of the Philistine cities.

The fact that much of the trading was carried on by itinerant merchants is unmistakably evident from the use of the Hebrew root סָהַר, 'to wander about' as the source of such words as: סַחֵר, merchant; סָחָר, mart; סַחֲרָה, traffic. (Cf. Gen. xxiii 16; I Kings x 28; Is. xxiii 3, 18; xlv 14; Prov. iii 14; Ez. xxvii 15). These wandering traders were no doubt for a long time after the entrance of the Israelites drawn largely from the older inhabitants of the land. For example, the traffickers in gums and spices who purchased Joseph from his brethren are called in the J. narrative of Gen. xxxvii 'Ishmaelites' and in the E. narrative 'Midianites'. In Isaiah xxiii and Ez xxvii the typical traders of the land are Phoenicians and in Prov. xxxi 24 the goodwife is represented as selling her wool to a merchant who is literally a 'Canaanite'.

Semitic archaeology and philology are continually adding to the evidence that Palestine was for long centuries marked out to be the highway for international trade. Dr. Naville has in a recent book drawn attention to the discoveries of Reisner which have added a fourth to the three previously known specimens of 'old Israelite' writing. It is in the form of 75 inscribed pieces of potsherd found in the ruins of Omri's palace in Samaria which

are nothing more or less than 'les étiquettes des marchands de vin'. An Aramaic inscription, dating probably from 400 B. C., has been also discovered at Taxila in India upon which appear words like שן, ivory; ארז, cedar; possibly even the much debated שן הכים, of I Kings x 22. (See J. R. A. S. 1915, p. 340.) In course of time the Semitic scripts became the usual means of communication from India to Greece and Aramaean became a kind of lingua franca. This is illustrated by the story of Kadmos (i. e. the Oriental) who brought the Καδμήϊα γράμματα into Greece.

Is there any reason then to believe that the Hebrews were so different from other branches of the Semitic family that they were indifferent to commerce for the greater part of their national history and content to leave the monopoly to 'Ishmaelites' and 'Canaanites'?

One admission may readily be made. In common with the Romans the Hebrews had no liking for the sea and were well content to leave to foreigners the perils and risks of navigation. Both Solomon and Jehoshaphat used foreign ships (Tarshish ships) for their commercial ventures, and Jonah also made his one voyage in a 'Tarshish ship'. This, however, is not difficult to understand when we realise the absence of harbors on the Syrian coast as compared, for instance, with the coast of Greece. The very word for 'haven' (Pss. cvii 30), so far from suggesting a 'port', i. e. a *gate* to the open sea) suggests only a 'refuge'—מרחוץ. Also it should be remembered that the Jews were for the greater part of their history cut off from the strip of sea-coast acquired by the Philistines. As mentioned above, it was left to Simon Maccabaeus to obtain possession of Joppa and for Herod to make a port of of Caesarea. We may add that the reference in the epinikial ode of Deborah (Jud. v), translated in A. V. 'Why did Dan remain in his ships?' should almost certainly be rendered, as in Dr. Moore's paraphrase, 'Why does he live as a dependent, under the protection of the Phoenician sea-farer?'

Let us appeal, however, to the actual record of the trade history revealed in O. T. narrative. Even in patriarchal times a certain acquaintance with trade is taken for granted and we note the employment of shekels and pieces of silver. The prosperity

of the cities of the plain is due to their position on the line of traffic. Corn is purchased with silver from Egypt. In the 'borrowing' transaction of the Israelites at the Exodus a distinct aptitude for business is evident. The entry into Canaan brings us such evidences of international trade as the 'Babylonian garment' and the gold ingot, while Gideon's victories over Midian bring with them the acquisition of gold ear-rings, purple(?), and possibly pearls (הכטיפות). But it is naturally the monarchy which most tends to make the Hebrew people personal participants in the traffic which flowed through the land. Saul's victories over the Philistines naturally lead to increased ability to trade and, in the Davidic eulogy, the fact that the first monarch clothed the daughters of Israel with garments adorned with gold constitutes a special claim to gratitude. The reign of David is in itself a chapter in the story of trade development, and no one may reflect upon his triumph over the Philistines, his capture of towns and cities, his creation of a capital dependent upon commerce for its very existence, his regulation of trade (cf. II Sam. xiv 26), his relations with surrounding peoples, his employment of foreign mercenaries, his preparations for building on a splendid scale, alliance with Hiram, king of Tyre, without recognizing the immense impetus given to commerce which the foundation of the new dynasty gave. It would be superfluous to do more than direct attention to the trade ventures of Solomon. At every turn we see evidence of his grandiose designs to turn the geographical situation of the kingdom to commercial account. The visit of the Queen of Sheba illustrates the contact established with S. Arabia; the conquest of Edom by David had cleared the road to Elath; this in turn assisted the use of the Gulf of Akaba by the Phoenician sailors in the service of himself and Hiram; horses were purchased in Musri, wherever that much discussed region may have been; ships went periodically as far as the west coast of India, if not further; taxes and tolls were levied and exacted by 'the king's merchants'; fortified posts were established along the trade routes; and even guilds of foreign merchantmen were permitted to reside (and, consequently, to erect shrines) in Jerusalem. After the death of Solomon two causes led to a diminution of

trade. One was, of course, the loss of the northern province and the subsequent interposition of a hostile Aramaean world between Judah and the Euphrates. The other was the growth of prophetic influence which detected in the new international relations a menace to Jahvism. With Ahab connected by marriage with Tyre and furthermore permitted by Benhadad to have *ḥuzoth* — חֲזוֹת — in the city of Damascus (see I Kings xx 35) the danger of foreign idolatry was more than imaginary. Jehoshaphat, it is true, attempted to revive the old commercial schemes, but 'his ships were broken at Ezion-geber' (I Kings xxii 41, 48) and after this the influence of prophetism combined with the growing pressure of Assyria to restrict the trade possibilities of the Jewish monarchs. Nevertheless, the reigns of Uzziah and Jotham were not without attempts at revival, and the earlier prophets corroborate what we might otherwise learn from the tribute lists of the Assyrian invaders that both Israel and Judah possessed much wealth which only had been acquired by rather extensive commerce. "Israel" says Sir G. A. Smith, "during those forty years of Jeroboam and Uzziah must have become a busy and a wealthy commercial power. Hosea calls the Northern Kingdom a very Canaan — Canaanite being the Hebrew term for trader — as we should say a very Jew; and Amos exposes all the restlessness, the greed, and the indifference to the poor of a community hasting to be rich". Amos, prophet as he was, was also a wool trader, and it was through his periodical visits to the great markets, including probably Damascus, that he became convinced of the Assyrian menace. Again, the list of articles of luxury, given in Isaiah iii 18, to 24, could only have been compiled in a land where commerce had attained considerable proportions. A generation later provision for trade is included in the Deuteronomic Code (see En. Bib. p. 5175, col. 1) in which respect a striking comparison may be made with the earlier Book of the Covenant.

After the Captivity there is so little question as to the activity of the Jews in international commerce that nothing need be said, but it may be observed that Ezekiel's wonderful description of the merchandise of Tyre of course reflects pre-exilic conditions.

In any case it provides for us a clear window opening out upon the commercial world of the 6th. Century B. C.

The Jews who returned to Palestine after the edict of Cyrus may well have seemed for a while 'a starveling community' and were so indeed by comparison with their brethren of the Dispersion. The reforms of Nehemiah deliberately limited intercourse with foreigners as leading to religious contamination. Nevertheless, the Persian period was on the whole an epoch of great trade expansion, partly through the splendid administrative system of the Achaemenians and the liberal attitude adopted towards the subject peoples. This is reflected admirably in the book of Proverbs and the other Wisdom books.

Beyond this point there is no need to continue the historical sketch, and I desire for the remainder of this paper to draw attention to the light shed in instances not a few upon trade conditions by the Hebrew nomenclature used for the principal articles of commerce. It is to this task I now address myself.

By far the larger number of commercial terms of this sort are the names of spices, gums, and aromatic woods. The mere reference to such a list as Aloes, Almug, Balsam, Bdelium, Calamus, Cane, Cassia, Cinnamon, Frankincense, Galbanum, Ladanum, Myrrh, Saffron, Spikenard, Stacte, Storax, furnishes the proof of this, if proof be necessary. The list furnishes, moreover, the proof of the very general use of the Semitic tongues to denote the commodities.

Let us, however, to begin with, consider some which have foreign names significant of a non-Semitic provenance. Among these are:

אהל, אהלֹת, (once אהלים); Num. xxiv 6; Ps. xlv 9; Prov. vii 17; Cant. iv 14. This is translated as 'Aloes' or 'Lign(um) aloes'; Gk. ἀγάλλοχον, ξυλ-αλόη. Both the Hebrew and Greek words are derived from some Indian word. Cf. Skt. *agaru*; Pali *Agaru*, *agalu*; Malayalam *agil*. Hence the Portuguese *aguila*, which gave rise to the French *bois d'aigle*, and our *eagle-wood*. The substance meant is a certain wood diseased through malnutrition and infiltrated with oil and resin. It was largely used for embalming and in the compounding of incense; also as a talisman,

from the belief that Adam snatched it for its perfume from the garden of Eden. Probably it was brought to Palestine from S. E. Asia. It is proper, however, to add that the expression of Num. xxiv 6 — "Lign aloes which the Lord hath planted", presents the difficulty of implying a Palestinian habitat, and has suggested the emendation אֵלִים, or 'Terebinths'.

כַּרְכֹּם, translated 'saffron' in Cant. iv 14. This is another foreign word, ultimately from the Skt. *kankum*, or *kunkuma*, which has come into Arabic as *Kurkum*, and thence obtained entrance into Gk. as *κροκος*. In this case the Semitic has been not the source but the channel.

נָרְדִּי, Cant. i 12; iv 13, 14; and translated 'nard'. This is a word borrowed from the Skt. *narada*, a word evidently related to *nas*, the nose (cf. our 'nose-gay'). It passed into the Gk. from the Hebrew as *ναρδος* and so into other European languages. What is represented is undoubtedly the Indian *Nardostachys Fatamanse*.

אֶל-מִנִּים, I Kings x 11; אֶל-נָמִים, (by transposition) II Chr ii 8; ix 10. This is also in all probability a foreign word, connected with the Skt. *mocha*, the אֶל being a form of the definite article. It represents probably the Red Sandal wood which might very fitly be used by Solomon for the pillars of the Temple.

לָט, Gen. xxxvii 25, *Ladanum*, the Gk. *ληδον*. This word is of more doubtful origin. In the Arabic it appears as *ladhan* and might very well be derived from the root לָטַם, to be sticky. It has also been derived from the Persian and appears to represent a fragrant and sticky resin gathered from the leaves of the *Cistus ladanifera* Schroff (J. A. O. S. Oct. 1920) calls it the Rock rose, *Cistus villosus*. The Semitic derivation of the name is favored by the fact that the *Cistus* is produced in Canaan, at least in the region of Gilead.

בִּשְׁם, Cant. v 1, *Balsam*, is clearly a Semitic word, from which the Gk. *βάλσαμον* has been derived. It comes from the root בִּשַׁם, 'to smell sweet', and has generally been identified with Mecca Balsam.

צִרְיָ, translated 'balm' in Gen. xxxvii 25, is another word of the same kind. It is mentioned also in Gen. xliii 11 and was regarded as so precious a product of Palestine that the tree was borne in

the triumphal procession of Vespasian. It is given in the LXX as $\phi\eta\tau\acute{\iota}\nu\eta$, but is generally identified as *Balsamodendron Gileadense*. The root צרה means 'to ooze or flow forth'.

בדלח, translated in Gen. ii 12 as 'bdellium', is probably the same as the Babylonian '*bidlu*' and so a Semitic word. It was apparently a resinous substance whose provenance has been variously given as the Somali coast, Persia, India, and even China.

קניעה, Cassia, occurs only in Ps. xlv 9, except as a proper noun in Job. xlii 14,—the name of one of the daughters of Job. With a fair approach to certainty it may be derived from the root קצע, 'to strip', and so be translateable as 'peelings'. It is in all probability the same aromatic bark as the קדה, translated 'cassia' in Ex. xxx 24,—one of the ingredients of the holy anointing oil, and in Ez. xxvii 19. The root is the kindred word קרר, 'to cut'.

קנה, the calamus of Ez. xxvii 19 has given us our word 'cane' and has been identified with the sweet flag or lemon grass. Schoff observes, however: "We must guard against too specific an interpretation of these early trading terms".

קנמן, the Cinnamon of Ex. xxx 23, Prov. vii 17, Cant. iv 14, Rev. xviii 13, seems to me plainly a Semitic word, derivable from קנה, though Enc. Bib. thinks this extremely unlikely. It may possibly be that the term travelled from the further East, but Herodotus says distinctly that the Greeks learned the word from the Phoenicians. Consequently, even if the word be not of Semitic origin, it was transmitted by Semitic sailors. Schoff supposes that things 'bundled' were called by the merchants generally קנמן, and 'things cut', i. e. packed in bags, קקה.

כמן, the Cummin of Is. xxviii 25, is almost certainly derived from the root כמן, 'to season or preserve' (cf. also כמס). Enc. Bib., however gives it 'of unknown origin'. Yet the word is the same in Arabic, Syriac, Ethiopic, and Carthaginian, and the Gk. κύμινον is evidently a derivative from the Semitic. The word represents the seed of an umbelliferous herbaceous plant.

חלבנם, the Galbanum of Ex. xxx 34, Gk. χαλβανη, is without doubt of Hebrew origin, derived from the root חלב, 'to be sticky'. Galbanum is, however, not a Palestinian product, but is identified

by Birdwood as *Galbanum officinale*, a resinous substance grown in Persia. As an ingredient of the holy oil, it probably became known to the Jews no earlier than the Persian period.

בֹּר, the myrrh of Ex. xxx 23, Esth. ii 12, Ps. xlv 8, Cant. iii 6, iv 6, 14, v 1, 5, 13 (Gk. μύρρα, μύρρα), is possibly the same as the Mecca Balsam elsewhere rendered בִּשְׁמֵם. Schoff, however, speaks of that as *Balsamodendron gileadense* and describes it as 'a poorer cousin of the myrrh'. It is fairly certain that the word 'myrrh' is of Hebrew origin, from the root בֹּר, 'to be bitter'.

Among commercial terms from outside the lists of the spices and aromatic woods we have the following:

נָתַר, the nitre or natron (Gk. νίτρον) of Prov. xxv 20, Jer. ii 22. This word too is almost certainly Semitic and derivable from נָתַר, 'to loosen', applied as it is to a mineral alkali, a kind of carbonate of soda, used for washing clothes. It was found in Egypt and India as well as in certain parts of Europe.

בִּרְיָה, on the other hand, was a vegetable alkali, or salt of lye, obtained by mixing water with wood ashes. It is mentioned in Job. ix 30, Is. i 25, Jer. ii 22, Mal. iii 2, and represents undoubtedly a derivative from בֹּר, 'to cleanse'. The word 'borax', which, however, represents something entirely different probably comes from the Semitic root בִּרְךָ, 'to shine'. Among plant names we have:

אוֹב, the Hyssop (Gk. ὕσσωπος) of Ex. xii 22, Lev. xiv 46, 49, 51, Num. xix 6—18, I Kings iv 33, Ps. li 7. This is derived from the root אוֹב, 'to blossom' and is a genuine Semitic word. It was probably introduced to the Greeks by the Phoenicians. But it should be noted that the plant intended is probably not our Hyssop, *H. officinalis*, but possibly *Capparis spinosa*, known in Arabia as 'asaf'.

שִׁקְמָה, the Sycamore (Gk. συκόμορος, συκαμινος) of I Kings x 27, Ps. lxxviii 47, Amos vii 14. It is probably derived from the root שִׁקַּם, 'to be hard', in allusion to the fruit being of such poor quality as to require pinching,—Amos, it will be remembered, was a 'pincher' of figs, or sycamore fruit. In any case it is a genuine Semitic word which, transmitted into Greece, becomes συκόμορος, the fig mulberry, and συκαμινος, the mulberry.

קָשָׂא, the cucumbers of Num. xi 5. It is derived from the root **קָשָׂא**, 'to hold or contain', but by transposition of consonants the word became **שָׁקָא**, a form which in all probability passed into Greece as σίκυος, σικύη. The identification is usual with *Cucumis Chate*.

כְּתָנִת, which appears commonly in O. T. as 'shirt' or 'tunic', is really our word 'cotton'. It is a genuine Semitic word, though our 'cotton' probably comes to us through the Arabic قطن. It is derivable from the root **כָּתַן**, 'to spin' and gave to the Greek, in all likelihood, the word χίτων. In Esther i 6 (margin R. V.) another word is given as 'cotton', viz:—**כַּרְפָּס**, probably, as we might expect from the date of the book, a foreign word akin to the Pers. *kirpās*, Skt. *karpāsa* (cf. our 'carpet'). It appears to indicate a fine cotton cloth from India which was passed on by Semitic traders to the West. Hence the Gk. κάπρασος, which does not appear before the 2nd. Century B. C., and the Latin 'carbasus'.

סָרִין, represented by the LXX as σινδών, is translated 'linen' in Jud. xiv 12 and Prov. xxxi 24. The σινδών of the Alexandrian version implies that the material came from India (Sindhu), but it seems to me more natural to derive **סָרִין** from **סָדַן**, 'to clothe'. Yet, of course the Indian origin of the word is quite possible.

אַמֹּן מוֹרִים, as it is called in Prov. vii 16, is usually translated Linen yarn. The Enc. Bib. says that 'no satisfactory etymology has been found in the Semitic languages', but it does not seem unnatural to derive it from **אַמָּן**, 'to plait', and it is fairly clear that the word was adopted into Gk. as ὀθόνη.

Again, in the case of Byssus, **בִּיץ**, (Gk. βυσσος) translated in Ez. xxvii 16 as 'fine linen', we are told by Enc. Bib. that philology provides no assistance as to its derivation. Yet all forms of **בִּיץ** (**בִּיץ**, **אֲבִיץ**, **בִּישׁ**) suggest whiteness, or shining. I see no reason whatever for doubting the Semitic origin of this word.

שֵׁשׁ, is also rendered by the Gk. translators as Βυσσος in Ex. xxvi 1, and the R. V. has given it as 'fine, twined linen'. The word has sometimes been supposed to refer to silk, but should in all probability be identified with the fine linen used for the wrapping of the Egyptian mummies. It is very likely the reproduction

of an Egyptian word. See also Prov. xxxi 22, Gen. xli 42, Ex. xxv 4, Esth. i 6, Cant. v 15 (R. V. 'marble').

מִשֵּׁי, is a more probable Hebrew equivalent for silk. It is used in Ez. xvi 10—13 and is very possibly a foreign word, though offering a possible derivation from מִשָּׂה, 'to draw out or spin'.

אֶרְגָּמָן, translated 'purple', is generally derived from the Skt. *râgam*, but I see no difficulty in its connection with the root אָרַג, 'to spin', especially as it is certain the word implies material rather than color.

Passing to other commodities we find the word אֶנָּז which occurs in Cant. vi 11 and is translated 'nuts'. It is probably foreign, akin to the Pers. *aghus*, but some are willing to connect it with the Hebrew root אָנַז, 'to bind', i. e. to form a bunch. The word refers in all probability to the walnut (*Juglans regia*) which the Greeks and Romans always regarded of Persian origin.

שֵׁן הַבַּיִת, translated as 'ivory', has given rise to considerable discussion. It occurs only in I Kings x 22 and II Chron. ix 21. In the LXX it is represented by ὀδόντες ἐλεφάντινοι. The Hebrew שֵׁן הַבַּיִת is regarded as equivalent to הַאֵבִים, but whether the אֵבֶה, elephant, comes from the Skt. *ibhas*, or from the Egyptian *ebu* must be left doubtful. The Indian origin of the word is most favored, though it should be remembered that Thothmes III killed elephants in the Euphrates Valley. From Ez. xxvii 15 we learn that the Tyrians obtained ivory from the Rhodian merchants (Dodanim), and Amos mentions among the luxuries of the reign of Jeroboam II 'beds of ivory' (Amos vi 4). In Cant. vii 4 we read of a 'tower of ivory', though the meaning is doubtful.

הֶבֶן, which occurs only in Ez. xxvii 15, is translated ebony. It is generally regarded as a loan word, probably from the Egyptian *heben*, but may possibly have been confused with the Hebrew אֶבֶן, stone-wood. By emendation Cheyne finds the word in four other O. T. passages, including the passage mentioned in the last note, I Kings x 22. The wood referred to is in all probability the 'heart-wood' of S. India and Ceylon.

בַּרְזֶל, Iron, has all the appearance of a Semitic word akin to the roots בָּרַז, to cut, בָּוֵל, to be hard. The word appears in Assyrian as *parzillu*, and Hommel finds even a Sumerian *barjal* which he

affirms to be the parent of the Semitic term. In any case the Hebrews seem to have acquired the use of iron from the older inhabitants of the land. This is implied in the Cainite tradition of Gen. iv 22 and confirmed by the use of iron for chariots by Jabin king of Hazor (Jud. iv). Goliath the Philistine had an iron spear, and the city of Zarephat may have been a smelter. That no iron was employed in the shaping of the altars or in the construction of the Temple is generally accepted as evidence that iron did not supersede the use of bronze before 800 B. C.

In the animal world three or four words connected with the history of Hebrew trade remain to be noticed.

Much debate has arisen from the references, in I Kings x 22 and II Chr. ix 21, to the קפיים and תכיים which Solomon's 'Tarshish ships' brought back in addition to the gold, silver and ivory. The common interpretation has been 'apes' and 'peacocks' and the words have been identified respectively with the Skt. *kapi* and the Tamil *togai*, or *tokei* (now used only for the peacock's tail). In spite of the fact that this translation is favored 'by most moderns', the philological evidence is extremely weak and there is something to be said for Halévy's identification with the '*tuku*' and '*kukupi*' (Gk. κῦφι) mentioned in the Amarna tablets. Here the words evidently denote certain costly vessels of oil. The LXX, it should be observed knew nothing of the 'apes and peacocks'.

A word may be said, in conclusion, of the animal most important of all to the travelling merchant, and it is not without significance that גמל, the camel, is a real Semitic word which has found a place in many lands. It means 'the bearer' or 'carrier' and it is worth noticing that the word was in general use throughout the Semitic world before the separation of any of its branches.

One word to bring this paper, already grown too long, to a close. It is plain that the faculty for trade is for the Hebrew no acquisition of recent times but something which belongs to the very bone and blood of the race. Jacob and Esau were not so far apart at the starting point of their careers. The slope on the one hand towards materialism and on the other towards the spiritual was determined by a very nice choice at critical

moments. In like manner, the spiritual altitude of the great Hebrew prophets was not attained easily or in one splendid rush; nor was the materialism of the trader without its bearings upon that necessary process of universalization which meant so much for the theological, religious and social conceptions of the future. The old struggle of Jacob and Esau in the womb was destined to continue through the whole history of the Semitic peoples, with many a fluctuation of victory and defeat.

The international contacts developed by the language of trade afforded the Jew a marvellous opportunity for becoming the great missionary of monotheism. If he left this privilege to a 'remnant' we must not forget that it was a remnant trained, largely through commerce, to a world outlook. Nor need we allow that the battle for things spiritual was altogether lost, in spite of the fateful choice of nineteen centuries ago at Jerusalem. It is at least something to say that the history and writings of 'une petite peuplade sans culture' have had so spiritual an appeal for mankind as in large part to make us forget its ancient aptitude for commerce.

THE ASSYRIAN LAW CODE

(*Recueil de Lois Assyriennes*, By V. Scheil, Paris, Geuthner, 1921, pp. VI, 125. Francs 24)

By JOHN A. MAYNARD, University of Chicago

THE portions of an Assyrian law code published by Schroeder¹ are nearly as important as the Code of Hammurabi. They have already been studied by Meissner in *Babylonien und Assyrien*, p. 175—179. Dr. Julius Lewy contributed a thorough study of the grammar of that code in the *Berliner Beiträge zur Keilschriftforschung*². The two first tablets were studied by Jastrow in the last issue of the *Journal of the American Oriental Society*³. Professor Scheil's transliteration and translation of the code cover the first three tablets published by Schroeder, the three others being too small to be of much use at present. Scheil's work is of course entirely independent of Jastrow. We hope that it will be in the hands of any non-assyriologist who will study the code, since Jastrow's translation is faulty in many places. It is no pleasant task to call attention to errors of a scholar as universally regretted as Professor Jastrow but the importance of the text so well studied and presented by Scheil warrants such a departure.

Scheil's translation is excellent. We differ from him only in a very few places, where the text itself is doubtful. In Col. I, last line, we would rather restore (*mim-im-ma-šu-nu*). No question mark is necessary on p. 15, l. 16, as far as the meaning of the verb *naku* is concerned. Equally clear is the meaning of *naikanu* on p. 8, l. 6, l. 35, 39. Cf. Scheil's index, p. 123a. On p. 29, l. 55, we would add (*s'il veut*), translating (*ha-di-ma*) which is also to be restored. On p. 51, l. 58, translate *esirtu* by *captive*. On p. 57, we suggest *banquet* for *šakulte*. On p. 61, l. 43, 44, we would

¹ *Keilschrifttexte aus Assur verschiedenen Inhalts*, 1920.

² *Das Verbum in den Allassyrischen Gesetzen*, Berlin, 1921.

³ *An Assyrian Law Code*. JAOS, 1921.

translate, *et si (celui-ci) le prix total ayant été pris, est satisfait, il complètera l'affaire.*

There are a few errors in the transliteration. P. 2, l. 14, p. 4, l. 29, read *aššat(at)*; p. 4, l. 22, read *-ri-i-bu*; p. 20, l. 78, read 40 (instead of 50); p. 24, l. 11, read *aššat-su*; p. 48, l. 38, the traces favor only *-[ma]-a*; p. 54, l. 90, read *-ta-aš-ši*; p. 76, l. 99, read *mi-ta-a-at*; p. 92, l. 44, read *-nu-u-ni*; p. 94, l. 8; p. 94, l. 8, read 50 instead of 5; p. 116, read *šu-tu* instead of *šu-u*. The copy which came into our hands had other errors of transliteration but they had been corrected by hand and so we presume that all other copies passing through the trade will have these corrections.

The Assyrian code shows a state of ethical development in Assyria far below that of Babylonia. A comparison imposes itself with the Hebrew Mosaic code and with the laws of the Himyarites attributed to Gregentius, Bishop of Taphar. It becomes evident now that there was no smooth and universal evolution of legalistic attitude in the Semitic world. Indeed the hypothesis of evolution in history of ethics and religion does not fit in with the facts. The Himyarite laws are no doubt partly the work of some jealous ecclesiastical writer of an age later than that of Gregentius, but it is rather striking that the punishments for some sexual irregularities are the same as in the Old Assyrian Code. Many critics are not able to understand why the Holiness Code witnessed to a legal conscience less developed than in Babylonia, but here we see a nation far closer to Babylonia, speaking a dialect of the same language, and yet far less developed from an ethical and legal point of view, than the more civilized South.

The first paragraph of the Code was not understood by Jastrow (*op. cit.* p. 13); it refers to a woman entering a temple for the purpose of robbery. "If in the temple she steals whatever belongs to the sanctuary, they shall prove it against her, they shall establish her guilt." There is no reference to restitution. The punishment consists partly in a shaving of the head, but that was evidently only a part of it.

The second paragraph is to be rendered as follows: "If a woman, be she the wife of a man (*or* freeman) or a man's daughter

utters impudent sayings or is given to vilifying of mouth, this woman bears her own fault. She will keep away from her husband, her sons, and her daughters." The punishment of the common scold was therefore less severe than in the olden days of Massachusetts.

Nr. 6, read (instead of Jastrow). "If the wife of a man establishes a (concealed) store in the country, one buying (from her) will bear the penalty for robbery." This makes evident that buying and selling were in Assyria matters conducted with the utmost carefulness of documentation.

Nr. 8, read after the word *fingers*: "and if the physician makes a ligature" (instead of Jastrow's translation which is faulty).

Nr. 9. The penalty applies apparently to *one* finger only.

Nr. 12, (= Jastrow Nr. 11) read "the witnesses prove his guilt, and they (used indefinitely) put the man to death". It does not follow that the witnesses put him to death, still less summarily without a judgment.

Nr. 13 (= Nr. 12 of Jastrow). The law does not assume (Jastrow p. 17, note 54) that the man is put to death but says clearly "they shall kill both man and woman."

Nr. 14 (= 13) reads as follows: "If with the wife of a man, either in an assignation house or on the high way, a man has intercourse, knowing that she is the wife of a man, they shall treat the fornicator just as the husband shall command to treat his wife. If not knowing that she is the wife of a man, the fornicator has had intercourse with her, he shall be freed. The husband shall argue the point with his wife and will do to her as he pleases."

Nr. 15 (14). The end of the paragraph says: "If he [declares his wife justified] he shall also declare the man [justified]."

Nr. 16 (15). The beginning reads: "If [with] a man the wife of [a man makes] an intrigue, there is no guilt for the man."

Col III, 1—13 is not a continuation of the preceding paragraph (Jastrow p. 21) but deals with another case, namely that of a man lending to a married woman." [Because] the lender has lent [to the wife of] a man, he shall go to the river, without bonds. If he returns from the river, as the husband of the woman shall do to his wife, they shall do to him."

Nr. 24 (22) reads: "If a man's wife takes into her house the wife of a man and gives her to a man for intercourse and the man knows that she is a man's wife, they will do to him as to him who defiles a man's wife; and as the husband of the woman shall deal with his defiled wife they shall deal with the procuress. And if the woman's husband does nothing to his defiled wife, they will do nothing to the fornicator or to the procuress; they shall release them." The remainder of the paragraph was well understood by Jastrow.

Nr. 41 (Jastrow 39). Jastrow's translation (p. 36) "the unclean woman" was due to a wrong division of the syllables in the text where the word *la-a* is the negation and *tu* the first syllable of the following verb.

The first paragraph in the second tablet (Jastrow p. 50—51) reads: "... on the fields ... of land the [elder] receives and takes [two thirds] and his men receive and take the grass together. In the field of all ... and of all expenses, the younger son is free(?). The elder receives and takes two thirds as for the other third he throws the lot with his brother.

These notes show clearly that until further work is done on the subject, students will have to depend on Scheil's work and unfortunately not on Jastrow's. More definite work on the Code can be done only by one familiar with the Assyrian contracts and business documents which most scholars have neglected or the Babylonian documents. The portions of the Code published by Schroeder are of course only a portion of the great Code which may yet be found in the unexcavated mounds of Assyria.

THE ANAPHORA OF THE HOLY AND BLESSED JOHN¹

Translated by SAMUEL A. B. MERCER, Western Theological Seminary, Chicago

Anaphora of the Holy and Blessed, Treasury of Wisdom, John
Son of Thunder

⟨THE INTRODUCTION⟩

He shall say

To thee, O Lord, we raise our eyes, we lift up our hearts, and exalt our thoughts, thou who art the existing one. He who existed from the beginning created the world, and he will endure forever. Thou hast no limit nor end. There is none who perceives thee; none who will perceive thee; there is none who knows thee, and none who is able to see thee. Thou alone knowest thyself. Thy kingdom will not be destroyed, thy power will not be annihilated, thy might will not be controlled, and thy glory will not be hidden. Thou art hidden from all, yet all is manifest in thee; thou hast no beginning, yet thou hast appointed an end to all; thou hast no end, yet thou hast appointed an end to all; all is from thee, and all is in thee, and all is for thee; thou art in all; thou art mightier than the mighty, and their rule is subjected to us by the coming of thy Son; yet thou art so much more mighty than thy seed, that thou hast subjected them to our power by thy mercy; thou art he who is a mediator to all; thou art he who transcends all; there is a refuge in thy might; and protection in thy strength; in thyself art thou concealed, for thou art in thyself. We beseech thee that thy Son may bless us. Thy Word is in thee, he who was born of thee, glorious even as thou art, for ever, thy Son and thyself.

For his sake, thou hast spoken to us, and his witness is thy voice; for thou art in truth and righteousness his Father. Thee

¹ Mercer, *Ms. Eth.* 3, 132a—147b.

they adore, with thy Son; but to him belongs the glory of sonship.

There was never a day that he was not with thee, and there was never an hour that the Son was not thy Son. The Father did not proceed from the Son, neither was the Son conceived by the Father; but the wisdom of the heart cannot fathom it. Let them rejoice that they may deliver themselves from fear, and exalt themselves above their watchers, for he works in secret and comes in secret; he enters and they tremble; he investigates and plans and examines even to the very limits that he may perceive any moment or hour whether thou makest a sign with the eye of unbelief, if such should believe not on thy only-begotten Son and his Father, and the Holy Spirit of life, even he who knows the hidden things of thy godhead, who has revealed to us thy essence, and made known to us thy unity, and hast taught us thy trinity, and has communicated to us thy unity. Therefore, thy equality which is irreproachable, thy unity which is blameless, and thy immanence which is universal, is the Father of heaven with the Son and the Holy Ghost. The Son blesses the Father and the Spirit, and the Holy Ghost informs the Father and the Son, for they are one in three. They control the unseen and miraculous. Thy praise, thou makest known to men, and thou hast manifested thyself in pity because of thy grace to those who praise thee; superiors according to their origin; kingdoms according to their tribes; watchers according to their orders; Cherubim according to their magnificance; Seraphim according to their holiness; all of them shall adore in fear and dread as is due; they shall fear God far and near.

⟨THE THANKSGIVING⟩

The deacon shall say

Let us give heed.

The priest shall say

Thus they veil their face with lightning that the consuming fire may not consume them; they cover their feet that the flame of power may not burn them; they fly to the four quarters of the world and to all places before him, that they may be in all

borders of the world; they shout that they may sanctify him who is above all in greatness of word and splendour and admiration. By their tribes and by their families, in their congregations and in their gatherings, they praise thee; thy Father they adore, and thy only-begotten Son they praise, and thy Holy Spirit they invoke, and all of them at thy holy eucharist mount up to give praise to thee. Show us that we may be together with them in thy mercy. O Lord, remember them. We praise thee, and we believe, and we say,

Holy, Holy, Holy Lord of Sabaoth,
the heaven and the earth are wholly full of the
holiness of thy glory.

The deacon shall say

Respond.

The priest shall say

Diverse art thou, and thou art the holy Father; diverse art thou, and thou art the holy Son; diverse art thou, and thou art the Holy Spirit; one name, one Lord; and in all of them we sanctify thee for thy goodness. And thou hast given them that we may be sanctified, and thou hast done all things. Thou hast created all, for thou wast not in subjection; thou hast subdued all for thou wast not weak; thou hast nourished all, yet thou wast not nourished; thou hast spoken for all, for thou wast not silent; thou hast given to all, yet thou didst not receive; thou hast added to all, yet thou wast not reduced; thou hast remembered all, for thou dost not forget; thou hast preserved all, for thou didst not sleep; thou wast forgotten by all, yet thou wast not obscured; thou hast given to all, yet thou didst not take.

Blessed is he — not the creator — who does not command the king, yet who does not constitute him Lord, who does not blame God, who does not barter him for riches, who does not give to him and then take away; for we all speak on behalf of thee, we magnify the creator of heaven. And thou hast sent forth the Son to us. He came forth, yet he did not leave thee; he went forth, yet he did not separate himself from thee; thou didst entrust all to him, and sent him to us, yet he was not separated from thee; where he was, there thou wast; he remained in heaven

with his Father, yet the earth was full of his Son; he descended, yet he did not proceed from above and he did not join himself to this world; he was conceived in the womb, yet he was not confined there; he was surrounded in the belly, yet he was not known; he, the creator of all flesh, dwelt in the womb; he who was above the Cherubim dwelt in flesh; he was clothed in flesh; fire consumed and concealed his subtle, spiritual body; he was brought forth from the hidden place into the open, and was nurtured by those appointed to nurture him in the body, and they developed him in the upper chamber to be our mantle of light. As he was clothed and dwelt in the house of the poor, so also, being poor, he sent forth the apostles. As a king they brought him gifts from afar; he was unruffled in his strength when he spoke to them. O Lord, thou wast nourished as an infant, yet they adored thee as Lord of all. He came forth as a man, yet acted as Lord. According to his own will he hungered as man yet he satisfied our hunger, and he multiplied little bread into that which was sufficient for the people. He thirsted when he was dying, and they gave him vinegar for water. As the Saviour of all he slept; as the Son of man he awoke and admonished their souls; as creator he established and sustained; being lowly he passed through the water; being exalted he lifted up his head; as our maker and Lord he is the remitter of sins; as Lord of all he was innocent of all, yet he endured the spitting of our profanation. He who made them live by his spital, made us see and gave us the Holy Spirit. They polluted him who forgave sins, and they condemned him who is the judge of judges. He was crucified on a tree that he might bear our sins; he was numbered with the malefactors that he might unite us with the just; he died of his own will and was buried by his good pleasure—he died that he might overcome death; he died that he might raise the dead; he was buried that he might raise those who were in their graves; he preserved them among the living that he might justify them of their sins; he cleansed them from their impurity; he received them to himself from their dispersion; and he established them in safety according to their occupation. Glory be to thee; praise and glory and blessing for ever and ever.

The deacon shall say

Ye who sit, stand up.

The priest shall say

Because of those whom thou hast received back from death and caused to live and hast preserved, and whom thou hast cleansed from their iniquity, whom thou hast washed from their sins, whom thou hast brought back from their dispersion, whom thou hast delivered from their error, blessed art thou. Amen and Amen. We adore thee and we bless thee, O word of Wisdom and word of council, perfection of judgment and worthy of praise, fountain of happiness and prophetic source of prophecy, torrent of blessing on the Apostles, source of honour and establisher of kingdoms, pure crown of the priesthood, holy king, whose crown the sacred East shall adore, and he shall cover us with the sacred garment which had no joint and the tunic which was not torn. He is the way to the Father, the open doors—the work of the Son—the treasure which was opened, the true essence which was born, the mite which was found, the talent which increased, the leaven which was perfected for the leavening, the juice which gives taste to the insipid, the light which drives away darkness, the lamp which illuminates eternity, the saw which acts, the structure which is not destroyed, the ship which is not annihilated, and the habitation which is not moved, a sound friend but a swift punisher is Jesus Christ; and he is strength and wisdom to all. He has satisfied all and he has given to them eyes that they may see men as trees through a window, and that they may hear in secret. He will enlarge the sane ear, and he will expand the soul. With secret garments he will clothe their sublime body. His hand will erect a veil, his foot will broaden the way for those who limp. His soul will depart at night, and he will make his spirit to inhabit its abode. He will drive legions of demons into the herd of swine. He will cast sorrow from the weak soul, and he will cause the sun of righteousness to arise from its border, and it will shine forth to thy profit. Salvation and glory and praise for ever and ever.

<THE INTERCESSION>

The deacon shall say

Look to the east.

The priest shall say

Let us approach thee, the immaculate eucharist, full of penitence of soul, that it may sanctify our flesh. Let us not approach thee full of gold and silver, nor of precious gems which is injustice and sin, nor clothing which is a burden, nor a flock which is devoured by death, nor a herd which are in death. He will save his flock and preserve us, but he will not save those who deny him. We, who are saved, and are with those who are saved by thee do not approach thy human nature, but we approach thy majesty; we approach the fire of thy face, before the sacrifice of thy body and blood; we approach thy essence.

For the sake of thy holy Church which is saved by thee and for which thou hast died and for which thou wast smitten, for which thou didst shed thy blood and was crucified. But thou wast preserved by thy cross from danger that thou mayest enter into thy solemn heavenly marriage.

For the sake of all thy prophets who denied themselves to make thy place holy among all dark peoples.

For the sake of all thy apostles who sowed the earth with thy people in the place of thy cross, and carried the contents of thy word into all parts of the world.

For the sake of all thy martyrs, who rest in the orthodox faith, who for thy flock drove the wolf from the sheep.

For the sake of all the popes who cleansed their administration by purity and accepted their authority that they may receive the reward of their righteousness.

For the sake of all presbyters who preserve their sacred deposit that they may receive their portion in joy.

For the sake of all deacons, who were crowned with their portion of the Holy Spirit, that they may communicate to them the Holy Ghost.

For the sake of all thy saints, who have remained true, who teach thy people, and sanctify thy word.

For the sake of all kings and judges who rest in the orthodox faith.

For the sake of the virgins and youths, who sinned in this world but who contracted a heavenly marriage.

For the sake of all the saints, who gave their souls to thee, who have braved martyrdom, and returned home with a good name, that they may ask for their prayers with a loud voice.

For the sake of all our fathers and brothers, who have left this changing world, though it was made for them; remember (when they appear) before thee.

For the sake of all those whom thou hast brought up in the baptism of the holy Church, that thou mayest be pleased with their martyrdom, and grant that thou mayest share with them that which is thine.

For the sake of all those who were killed with the spear and those who were taken.

For the sake of the poor and needy.

For the sake of the barren and orphans.

For the sake of thy work for us here below for which thou hast called us by thy grace, for it is not befitting that thou shouldst exalt us and lift us up—whom I cannot comprehend. But lead me to thee by thy pity, that I may draw near to thy sacrifice, O Lord; that thou mayest save my soul and all thy flock.

For the sake of this our congregation, that thou mayest bless them with the abundance of thy grace, that thou mayest strengthen our weakness, and justify defects, that thou mayest mollify our calamity, and quiet our consolation; that thou mayest enliven our sadness and cheer our minds; that thou mayest free our desperation, and give life to our morbidity; that thou mayest establish those who are penitent, and give power to the weak; that thou mayest strengthen the distant, and preserve those who are near.

For the sake of all those who are respectful, reward them; remember them in thy presence, for thou knowest all and thou art aware of all.

For the sake of the flowers of the earth, that thou mayest bless them, the crown of death; in multiplying thy long suffering, mayest thou give the crown of thy long-suffering.

For the sake of all those who receive this, remember the eucharist, that thou mayest receive for them their vows, and accept for them their eucharist.

For the sake of those who bear thy sign and came forth from the sad world and enter the joyful earth, that they may share in thy feast; that they may receive thy crown and rest in their habitation, which is for this world, in this thine own country of Canaan.

For the sake of all those who have sinned and erred, that this man—the Lord—may have pity upon them, and forgive them their sins, and take away their misdeeds and their errors.

For the sake of all those whom we call by name and those whom we do not know—for to thee their names are known—, that thou mayest remember them in thy presence, O Lord Jesus Christ.

The deacon shall say

For the sake of those who sleep.

The priest shall say

Remember us, O Lord, and all those who rest their soul in thy bosom, in quiet waters in paradise, and in the bosom of Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob, the enlightened leaders of thy kingdom, and in the sanctity of thy houses.

The people shall say

Remember us, O Lord.

⟨THE INSTITUTION⟩

The priest shall say

He stretched out his hands—our Lord Jesus Christ, Thy Son whom thou lovest, in the same night in which they took him, in the night in which it was decided to kill him; he was well-pleased that they afflict him; and that they crown him, afflicting him with spears; that the Church should come forth from his blood; that he should save his people by his cross; that he should build an altar, and that he should constitute images for them, and choose them priests and send them forth. He took bread into his holy and blessed hands, dowry of thy bride and the bill of

divorce of the synagogue which thou hast repudiated; giving thanks he blessed and brake, and gave to his disciples, and he said to them: "This bread is my body, whosoever eats of it shall not die, and whosoever receives it shall not perish. Take, eat of it all of you." Likewise, giving thanks over the cup he said: "This is the chalice of my blood of the new testament; take, drink of it all of you, a wonderful token for all who adore it at the cross, which was marked with his blood and signed with the cross and stamped with the sign which is for eternal life and for the remission of sins. So ye will show forth my memorial when ye come together.

⟨THE INVOCATION⟩

And we, O Lord, whom thou hast united that we may show forth thy passion, and that we may partake in thy resurrection from the dead, we beseech thee, O Lord, our God, that thou wouldst unite this bread scattered abroad in the midst of the mountains and hills, and in the valleys, and assemble and collect it that it may be one complete bread. So let us be gathered from all evil thought of sin in the full faith. So mix this wine with water that the one may not be separated from the other. So let thy divinity be mixed with our humanity, and our humanity with thy divinity; thy greatness with our smallness, and our smallness with thy greatness. Receive from us, O Lord, this oblation, on thy behalf, that thou mayest remember our righteousness, and that we may draw near to thee with pure bodies, and with all those who are not evil, but who are well pleased with thy greatness and with their eternal oblation for thee. Remember those who were with prudent Noah, and all those our sincere fathers upon whom thy kingdom shall come; let them magnify thy greatness that they may receive a good part and may be heirs of eternity in the kingdom of heaven, with all those who are satisfied with thee, with Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob, our sincere fathers, whose work is good, and who shall come forth in purity, and who shall reign in righteousness with Moses thy servant and all the prophets who preached to us without fear and trembling, and who announced thee without ceasing; let them

receive their pay accurately; with Simon Peter and all thy disciples; with Paul and all thy apostles, who proclaimed thy gospel with patience, who deserve a blessing in thy mercy; with Stephen and all thy martyrs who poured out their blood for thy blood, that they may acquire glory from thy glory; let the names be written in the book of life in Jerusalem, the book which shall be for ever and ever, in it and the holy Church. We beseech thee, O Lord, let thy holy Church praise thee, and let thy flock exalt thee, and let thy people supplicate thee in their prayers for our purification, and by their submission to absolve us; and by their supplication to watch us; and by their praise to rule; and by their power to be chiefs of thy kingdom; by the holiness of the Seraphim and by the blessedness of the Cherubim; and by the excellence of our sublimity; a door of light will be revealed; the blessed gates will be opened; and thy spirit of life and holiness will come; it will descend, dwell, remain, rest, and pour out a benediction upon the oblation of bread and wine, which it will sanctify, that this bread may be a partaking of thy living body and the chalice a partaking of thy propitiating blood, that all who believe in the living Father and in the only Son, who proceeds from him, and in the Spirit of life who is inscrutable. Amen. And he raised thy body and thy blood that they may be for redemption and for salvation and for remission of sins, for the taking away of death, for our light in the kingdom of heaven, and for eternal life. Amen.

The deacon shall say

He breaks it.

The priest shall say

Let us give heed.

The priest shall say

And again we pray for all whom God the Father of our Lord and our Saviour Jesus Christ has taken away, for we praise him for all things and for all people, because a second time he has appointed us that we may fulfill this his holy mystery. We pray that thou wilt bless us this day, us and all whom the Lord our God has taken away.

<THE INCLINATION>

The deacon shall say

Pray ye.

The priest shall say

Lord God, Almighty, the Father of our Lord and Saviour, Jesus Christ, we pray and beseech thee by all and in all; for thou hast assigned us another opportunity that we may perform the holy elevation of this mystery; be pleased to bless us, and depart not from us; let not thy body be polluted nor desecrated by any; grant us to elevate this holy mystery of our Lord and our God and our Saviour Jesus Christ, to whom to thee with him and with the Holy Ghost be glory and power, both now and ever and world without end. Amen.

The priest shall say

The hosts of the angels of the Saviour of the world stand before the Saviour of the world, and come before the face of the Saviour of the world, and encompass the Saviour of the world, even the body and blood of the Saviour of the world, in the faith of him the martyrs shed their blood.

<THE COMMUNION>

The deacon shall say

Stand up.

The priest shall say

Behold the blessing, behold the word which is proclaimed, behold the voice, behold the thanksgiving, behold the oblation, behold the name which was invoked upon those for whom this bread was given, who were without the adorable name of Jesus Christ, who is the Saviour, the giver of this living bread which came down from heaven to save the world. We bless thee, for thou art to us the way of life; we thank thee for thy word whom thou didst beget, and for this deliverance, and for this gift of flesh, and for this succour, and for this holy and mighty work of sacred life and lasting strength and quiet refuge and help, the

Saviour of those who wait upon thee. We thank thee that thou art called by this name for the love of man, that they may be saved and delivered from all evil, and from the former work which was placed upon them by their sins. And do thou sanctify them for ever and ever. Amen.

After placing the oblation, he goes around breathing

And again we beseech thee, Lord Almighty, Father of the Lord and our Saviour Jesus Christ, we give thee thanks, by all and in all, for that thou hast granted to us to take of thy holy mystery. We beseech thee that thou wouldst bless us to day and be gracious to all whom the Lord our God receives.

⟨THE THANKSGIVING⟩

The deacon shall say

Pray.

The priest shall say

O Lord God, Jesus Christ, Lord Almighty, Father of our Lord and our Saviour Jesus Christ, we pray and beseech thee, by all and in all, for that thou hast revealed to those who are with thee our wisdom, that they may be helpful to us, and do thou reveal thyself to us and be merciful to us. O Father, because of thy name, be thou well pleased that we may partake of the holy mystery in thy presence. Let it not be pollution for any of us, who have abstained from sin, but for eternal life. Let true knowledge guide us while we are in this world. Receive this holy mystery, as it is received by us. Receive our dead into thy kingdom, that their lot may be with our Lord and our Saviour, Jesus Christ, through whom to thee with him and with the Holy Ghost be glory and dominion, both now and ever and world without end.

⟨THE BENEDICTION⟩

Imposition of hands

Before the holiness of thy sancity, the work of thy hands and thy creature, submit himself to thee in soul, body, and spirit. Let thine ear incline to thy people; bless them and let them be among

those who are inscribed in the blessedness of thy mighty kingdom. Support their hands, and let them support them in all good works. Receive this sacred mystery; establish it in the hearts, minds and souls of all; may it be for strengthening of their soul, body, and spirit, in our Lord and Saviour, Jesus Christ, to whom with thee and him and with the Holy Ghost be glory, both now and ever and world without end. Amen.

REVIEWS

L'évolution de la langue égyptienne et les langues sémitiques.
By E. Naville. Paris, Geuthner, 1920. P. 179. Frs. 20.

Professor Naville's new book gives us the scientific foundation of his theory of an "Aramaic Old Testament" anterior to the Hebrew Bible as we know it. It is scarcely convincing but it is logical, well written and most interesting a showing the growth of the fallacy which vitiates Naville's hypothesis. He starts with an attack on what he calls the German school of Egyptologists, which includes all the American, and many of the French and English Egyptologists. He tells us—which is not nearly correct—that the "German" school overlooks the African characteristics of the Egyptian language and civilization. The old school which Naville upholds reminds us of a curious conception of the Hebrew language which was frequently found among Christians in the 19th century the so-called *unpointed system*. Naville claims that vowels disappeared in writing because they had probably already disappeared in pronunciation. There—as almost everywhere else, he contradicts the bare facts. Indeed we know when the vowels came in in other Semitic languages, Hebrew, Aramaic, Syriac, Arabic. There we can show that consonants remained although they were no longer pronounced. From the fact that modern Egyptians easily read unpointed Arabic he argues that a vowelless writing could not have been original. We do not know how Naville comes to such a conclusion with such premises, but it is certain that he contradicts the testimony of Arabic paleography. He rejects Sethe's monumental work on the Egyptian verb but that is rather an easy way of dealing with a scholar when you cannot prove his error. If the "Non. German" school is as numerous as Naville infers why does it not give us something equal to Sethe's work from the other point of view?

The author then takes up the growth of demotic which he compares to Aramaic. He tells us that cuneiform was not adapted to every day life, thus ignoring the silent testimony of myriads of business documents containing the most trivial information. He claims that cuneiform was only an official language, ignoring the testimony of the letters published by Harper which use a colloquial language, as letters do in the Orient to day. Thus do we know (facts *versus* Naville), that the spoken language was not Aramaic, not even in the time of the Sargonids. Besides that we also know that the Assyro-Babylonians had a stately and liturgical language namely the Sumerian. The author tells us that there had to be a passage from cuneiform to Aramaic language because it was not possible to simplify that cumbrous system (p. 166). He forgets that it was done in the case of Old Persian. He compares the birth of Coptic—under the influence of Christian missionaries adapting the Greek alphabet to an hypothetic transformation in Palestine in the first century A. D. when the Aramaic Bible (written in the language of the people) was translated into a dead language (Hebrew). This theory so flatly contradicts archeology, history and philology, that in spite of the winning personality of Naville, no Semitic scholar so far has dared to confess it—and yet we know how many of them would welcome any kind of a weapon against Bible critics.

Professor Naville has given us as good an apology for the Old School as could be given. His able protestations against a certain dogmatism found in the New School of Egyptologists will be very useful—but there is some dogmatism in the Old School too.

JOHN A. MAYNARD.

Babylonien und Assyrien. By Bruno Meissner. Heidelberg: Carl Winter Universitätsbuchhandlung, 1920. Pp. 466. M. 36.

This book is the first volume of a work on Babylonia and Assyria by Professor Meissner. It forms the third volume of the first series of Foy's *Kulturgeschichtliche Bibliothek*. No one could have been chosen better able to deal with the broad problem of the civilization of Babylonia and Assyria than Meissner, whose knowledge extends to every phase of cuneiform literature. Accordingly,

we have in this book a picture of Babylonian and Assyrian life which is well proportioned and masterfully done. The first chapter deals with land and people, the second gives a résumé of history, and then there follow ten chapters on the king and palace, army and war, officers and ministers, law, agriculture, industry, art, commerce, society and the family and daily life. A second volume will deal with literature, morals, religion, and probably other subjects.

Meissner planned his work primarily for the general cultured reader, but it will appeal to the student and scholar as well, for it has full references, and, although most of the material is old, there are some new things, such, for example, as Abb. 10, a statue of Lugal-kisalsi.

In a young science like Assyriology there are bound to be many unsolved problems. Meissner wisely avoids most of these. There are some things, however, in which he appears less cautious. For example, he speaks as if there was no question about the identification of Alašia with Cyprus. He also makes the bold statement that horned caps were the peculiar property of gods. This is not at all certain. See, for example, Naram-Sin, not as a deity, with a horned cap (Abb. 20). It is also not at all certain that priests did not dress like a god, wearing a horned cap, see, for example, many scenes on seal cylinders, where the suppliant is led before a deity by what is usually called another deity. This other deity is most likely a priest, who wears a horned cap. Nor is Meissner always careful to use what most Assyriologists consider to be a better form of transliteration. For example, he uses Erimuš for Rimuš. However, all these are minor considerations. The work is a masterly one, and we await volume two with eagerness. There is an excellent index, as well as 361 illustrations and a fine map.

SAMUEL A. B. MERCER

The life and growth of Israel. By S. A. B. Mercer. Milwaukee, Morehouse Pub. Co. 1921. Pp. XVI, 170.

This new volume of the *Biblical and Oriental Series* takes up the life and growth of biblical Israel. The first chapter is "on

the rock whence they were hewn", namely the Semitic race, a rock found in the most ancient corner of God's great workshop. Dr. Mercer shows many nuggets in that rock and thus helps us to understand to some extent, why this Semitic race was predestined to give monotheism to the world. In that chapter, he connects Abraham's migration from Ur with the beginning of a monotheistic movement in that city, in the twenty-first century, a very plausible theory, since we know that there was at that time a most important transformation of religious ideals in Babylonia. Next, the author takes up the life of Israel, and most interestingly compares it throughout to the growth of a person. Israel was first an infant in arms (Egypt and the Wilderness), then a child (period of the Judges), then a youth (David's time). We have then Israel's coming of age, Israel's maturity (Amos to Ezekiel), Israel's ripened maturity (Judaism). Finally the author tells us of Israel's residuary gifts. There he shows the importance of the Zadokite movement, making clear that Christianity was a Pharisaic or Zadokite Church, with a greater vision and with a tremendous message for the world at large. We have not found one single statement in this book that is not in accordance with the surest scholarship. The proof reading was as accurate as the work itself. There is only one misprint, due to metathesis, in the name of the city Berytus, in the map facing p. 164. We hope that this valuable outline of the religion of Israel will be made a textbook for Sunday School teachers, to whom books written by incompetent men have too often been recommended. Even scholars familiar with the modern science of the Old Testament will find Dr. Mercer's book inspiring. It is not a digest of dry facts but the outcome of deep thought, honest study, and good teaching. As a study of the collective life and growth of Israel, it is unsurpassed in the Old Testament literature of to day. We are sure that it will help much in the revival of Old Testament studies which will take place as soon as it is more commonly realized that we have in the Old Testament the most wonderful document of the quest of man after the living God—a book indispensable to the Christian Church, not only because of its proper value, but also as a safeguard against a wrong interpretation of the New Testament.

Let us hope that the *Biblical and Oriental Series* will give us a similar volume dealing with New Testament Times.

JOHN A. MAYNARD

Le Dogme et la loi de l'Islam. By I. Goldziher. Translated by F. Arin. Paris, Geuthner, 1920. Pp. VIII, 317. Francs 25.

Goldziher's *Vorlesungen über den Islam* were published in 1910. In 1917, Mrs K. C. Seelye published under the title *Mohammed and Islam*, with an introduction by M. Jastrow, what was supposed to be a translation of Goldziher's Lectures. Dr. Arin's translation into French is entirely different in that it is a translation of what Goldziher actually wrote, without misunderstandings. The new translator is familiar with the subject. It appears that the translator had at first chosen Goldziher's own title but changed it afterwards to a more explicit title borrowed from one of the chapter headings. Since the author himself made a number of changes in the first edition, Dr. Arin's translation is practically a new edition of the *Vorlesungen*. Goldziher's treatment of the Hadith is radical. He sees in them artificial sayings of Mohammed, made up for the purpose of giving a authoritative pronouncement on problems which arose after the death of the prophet, or for the purpose of sanctioning opinions of his followers. He then takes up the development of law and dogma, the growth of asceticism and sufism, the sects of Islam and the later developments, including Bahaism, the Ahmadiyya movement, and the attempt to unite sunnites and shiites in Russia. Goldziher is so evidently the best authority on Islam among European writers that his work deserves only praise. Here and there one may disagree with him about minor details. For instance, on p. 9, he takes a verse of the 22nd sura as illustrating Mohammed's tolerance towards Christians and Jews during the first period of his ministry. On the contrary it seems that this sura belongs to the third Meccan group and is therefore too late to illustrate a psychological evolution of Mohammed. One can easily be too dogmatic in such matters. The section of the book dealing with the modern movements should also have been brought to date, at least in a note. With these minor reservations, Dr. Arin's book will be a welcome

addition to the growing literature on Islam written in the French language.

JOHN A. MAYNARD

Orientalistische Studien Fritz Hommel zum sechzigsten Geburtstag gewidmet. Vol. I, 1916; Vol. II, 1918. Leipzig. Hinrichs, pp. VIII, 332, VI, 392.

This fine series of articles by a few of the many friends, colleagues and former pupils of Professor Hommel is quite worthy of the veteran Semitic scholar who has inspired so many younger men to begin research work in the field of Semitic studies. The first volume contains 17 articles on Babylonian and Assyrian subjects, an article by E. Hommel on Etruscan, one by Nielsen on the North Arabian gods, three anthropological articles (by Bork, Röck and Schutz) and two Egyptological (by Sethe and Erman). The second volume contains six articles on the Old Testament, two on comparative religion, six on Islam, one on Ethiopic, one on Armenian, two on Turkish, and seven miscellaneous articles. By the variety of subjects it covers, this *Festschrift* is quite in keeping with the extensive range of subjects in which Professor Hommel has been a tireless pioneer, a versatile guide and true scientific prophet. However we miss in that *Festschrift* a bibliography of Hommel's work. That in itself would be quite a monument.

JOHN A. MAYNARD

In Farthest Burma. By F. K. Ward. Lippincott. Philadelphia. 1921. Pp. 303, illustrations, 2 maps.

Captain Ward is a well known explorer of Yunnan and Upper Burma. He gives us in this volume the story of a trip in the borderland of Burma at the headwaters of the Irrawaddy. This work will be mainly of interest to the botanist, but it will captivate the average reader. It supplies much information on the Kachins of Upper Burma of great value to the ethnologist and student of primitive religion.

JOHN A. MAYNARD

The Subject Index to Periodicals 1919-1920. Issued by the Library Association. London, 33 Bloomsbury Square.

Part I, Classical, Oriental, and Primitive Language and Literature, contains 1112 entries obtained from 137 periodicals. The list is excellent and indispensable to students.

SAMUEL A. B. MERCER

The People of Palestine. By Elihu Grant. Philadelphia: Lippincott Company, 1921, pp. 271. \$2.50 net.

This is a companion volume to the author's *The Orient in Bible Times*, and is an enlarged edition of *The Peasantry of Palestine, Life, Manners and Customs of the Village*, which appeared in 1907. The book has been revised, and an additional chapter seeks to sum up present conditions. Anyone, specialist or general reader, who desires a vivid picture of Palestine life, written by an eye-witness and a scholar thoroughly versed in Biblical literature, can do no better than to read this well-illustrated and well-written book.

SAMUEL A. B. MERCER

La Linguistique ou Science du Langage. By J. Marouzeau, Paris: Geuthner, 1921. Pp. IV, 189. Francs 7.50.

Professor Marouzeau's book is meant for French readers, who may be unable to use books written in other languages; it therefore quotes only French authorities. He takes in turn phonetics, morphology, semantics, syntax, stylistic, descriptive grammar, historic grammar, comparative grammar, general grammar, the auxiliary sciences (philology, epigraph, etc.) and the history of linguistics. Dr. Marouzeau's book is most interesting, and written in a clear and racy language. As it stands it could not be translated into English, but it makes us desire that we also had in our own language, a textbook as valuable to all those who are interested in philology. It might help those who are trying so hard to clean our American schoolbooks and grammars from many of the errors of the old philology.

JOHN A. MAYNARD